

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCCHAR 00329 171334Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-04 HA-05 NSC-05 CIAE-00 PM-05
INR-07 L-03 ACDA-12 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01
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R 171133Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASUL BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7454
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 0329

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, CSCE, PINT, RO
SUBJ: GOR HANDLING OF ITS CURRENT DISSIDENT PROBLEM: DENOUEMENT
REFS: A. 77 BUCHAREST 8940; B. 77 BUCHAREST 811

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED AND TIMED SCENARIO
EMBARKED ON AT SOME POINT LAST SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER (REF B), GOR HAS
VIRTUALLY COMPLETED ISSUANCE OF PPTS NOT ONLY TO YOUNG MEN OF
CANAL GROUP, BUT ALSO TO THOSE IT WOULD SEEM TO VIEW AS CONTAM-
INATED BY THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH GROUP. IN MONTH SINCE OUR LAST
REPORT (REF A): WE HAVE LEARNED OF ADDITIONAL DEPARTURES AND PPT
ISSUANCES THAT WILL ELIMINATE FROM ROMANIAN DOMESTIC SCENE LAST
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PAGE 02 BUCCHAR 00329 171334Z

ORGANIZED REMNANTS TRACEABLE TO PAUL GOMA'S FRUSTRATED HUMAN
RIGHTS INITIATIVE OF A YEAR AGO. END SUMMARY.

2. FOUR OF BRAILIA GROUP HAVE DEFINITELY DEPARTED, LEAVING ONLY
ONE (SINCA) WHO OPTED OUT AND HAS NOT BEEN HEARD FROM BY
OTHERS SINCE EARLY SEPTEMBER AND ANOTHER (CONSIDERED SOME-
WHAT UNSTABLE BY HIS ASSOCIATES) WHO WAS FIRST TO RECEIVE

PPT BUT IS STILL AWAITING ITALIAN VISA. ALL OF SIX WE HAVE REFERRED TO AS "BUCHAREST ASSOCIATES" HAVE RECEIVED PPTS, INCLUDING ONE (STANCIULESCU) OF ORIGINAL EIGHT SIGNERS OF GOMA LETTER AND ONE (V. IONESCU) OF LATER SIGNERS. TWO YOUNG MEN WHO OBVIOUSLY DID NOT EXPECT TO BE PERMITTED TO DEPART UNTIL THEY TOO HAD PROVEN THEIR METTLE AND WHO HAD ANNOUNCED TO US AT END OF OCTOBER THEIR INTENTION FORM NUCLEUS NEW GROUP OF WOULD-BE EMIGRANTS AS THEIR PREDECESSORS LEFT, HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN GOR CLEANSING OPERATION. HAVING SYSTEMATICALLY WORKED ITS WAY THROUGH THESE TWO DOZEN, AUTHORITIES APPEAR TO HAVE BEGUN SUMMONING FOR ISSUANCE OF PPTS SOME OF MORE PERSISTENT LONERS WHO, THEY PROBABLY HAVE DECIDED, ARE INCORRIGIBLE. ISSUANCE OF PPT TO IOSIF NITA IS BEING DELAYED--AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING--BY APPEAL OF CHILD SUPPORT VERDICT FILED BY MOTHER OF HIS TWO ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN. GIVEN NEAR-CLEAN SWEEP BEING MADE OF OTHER MALCONTENTS, WE DO NOT PERCEIVE THAT POLITICAL DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO DENY PPT TO NITA INDEFINITELY.

3. COMMENT: THERE IS NO REASON TO EXAGGERATE ROLE OF HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS IN GOR'S HANDLING OF ITS DISSIDENT PROBLEM. GOR IS NO MORE A FRIEND OF RIGHTS OF MAN, AS WEST UNDERSTANDS THEM, THAN OTHER COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS, AND OTHER FACTORS MUST THEREFORE ACCOUNT FOR RELATIVELY HUMANE (AND SUCCESSFUL) "TREATMENT" IT HAS WORKED OUT FOR SMALL GROUP
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PAGE 03 BUCHAR 00329 171334Z

OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS WHICH GAINED INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION IN 1977. FIRST, THEY WERE FEW, THEY DID NOT HAVE CONTINUOUS ACCESS TO WESTERN MEDIA ENJOYED BY DISSIDENTS IN MORE FAVORED EASTERN CAPITALS, AND MOST OF THEM, WHEN PRESENTED WITH OPTION OF LEAVING, CHOSE TO "DISSENT" MAINLY TO STAYING IN ROMANIA. SECOND, GOR IS ATTACHED TO AN INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION FOR RELATIVE MILDNESS (AS DISTINGUISHED PERHAPS FROM TOLERANCE) WHICH SETS IT APART FROM SOVIETS AND SOME OTHER EE'S AND HELPS UNDERPIN FOREIGN AFFAIRS ROLE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IT COVETS, IN BELGRADE AS ELSEWHERE. THIRD, THERE MAY BE SOMETHING IN NATIONAL TRADITIONS, ON BOTH SIDES OF LINE WHICH DIVIDES DISSIDENTS FROM GOVERNMENT, WHICH MAY HELP EXPLAIN DISTASTE FOR CONFRONTATIONAL METHODS COMMON IN OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES: ROMANIAN HISTORY HAS SEEN LITTLE OF STALWART OPPOSITIONAL INTELLIGENTSIA FAMILIAR IN RUSSIA OR POLAND, AND ROMANIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE USUALLY RESORTED TO HANDOUT (IN THIS CASE PASSPORT) RATHER THAN KNOUT WHEN CHOTEING TACTICS. IN ANY EVENT GOR APPEARS TO HAVE FINESSED ITS PROBLEM FOR TIME BEING, BY RIDDING ITSELF OF THOSE FEW LIKELY TO TARNISH INTERNATIONAL IMAGE WHILE DISCOURAGING RECURRENCE OF 1977 PHENOMENON THAT EARNED LABLE OF DISSIDENCE.
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